



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

BY PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

THE increasing prominence of Jews in world affairs at a time of great upheaval and social evolution challenges the attention. Unless one happens to be an Anti-Semite, he finds nothing strange in the prominence of Jews in art, literature, finance, and all other branches of human interest. What cannot fail to impress all thoughtful observers, however, is the conspicuous role now being played by Jews as critics of the existing order of things.

The question naturally arises whether this is due to superior intellectual abilities, to a finer idealism, to a rational discontent, or to some other distinctive characteristic. The increase of anti-Semitism in Europe, and the danger of *pogroms* on a large scale should arouse one's apprehensions and compel one to ponder carefully the part now being played by Jews in this critical period of the history of civilization. It is a problem which is causing the Jews themselves serious concern. It is a problem which ought to preoccupy the attention of their friends. The writer, who is conscious of no prejudices on the subject, has been compelled to give it earnest consideration in the course of his wanderings the past year and a half in the Near East, and in Central Europe, particularly in Hungary, where the problem has of late become acute.

It is of particular interest to understand the aims and activities of Zionism, now that it has attained practical significance since the liberation of Palestine by the British, and the Balfour Declaration of December, 1918, promising the country to the Jews as a "national home." This Declaration had a dramatic effect on all Jews throughout the world. To many it was a second emancipation proclamation; to others, it was the fulfillment of Bible proph-

ecy; and it was the realization of the fondest dreams of those consecrated Zionists who from the time of Herzl had devoted themselves to the great cause.

No time was lost in following up the conquest of Palestine with a special Zionist Mission sent with the official approval of the British Government and accompanied by representatives of the Foreign Office.

This Mission occupied itself with thorough investigations of all sorts; with the distribution of aid to needy Jews; with the political organization of local communities; with negotiations with the Arabs; with questions raised by the British military authorities in the occupied territory; and, in fact, with all problems affecting Jewish interests. For example, the question of the ownership of land in Palestine gave a good deal of concern, owing to the opposition of Moslems and Christians to the sale of any property to the Jews. Future boundaries and ports, and political relations with contiguous peoples were considered by the Mission. The foundation of a great Jewish University on the Mount of Olives where instruction is to be entirely in Hebrew was the object of special attention.

With regard to the political aims of Zionists there is some divergence of opinion. It is evident, of course, that Zionists have always sought to establish an asylum for persecuted Jews. But the Balfour Declaration spoke of a "*national home*" for the race. This has been interpreted by leading Zionists as having no political significance, but meaning merely a "cultural center." They deny any pretensions for the establishment of an independent Jewish State, and ask only an opportunity for free development under a liberal régime.

This definition of their aims and the attempt to denature the meaning of the term *national* do not harmonize with the more casual and natural utterances of Zionists concerning their hopes and aims. When they speak of the "historic rights" of Jews to Palestine, of the future boundaries of the country, and of the fulfillment of Biblical prophecies, there is no doubt whatever that they have in mind the ultimate creation of a Jewish State. When Zionists disclaim any such intentions, they may not be open to the charge of insincerity, but they certainly are unable to accept the logic of their own implications.

As to the religious aims of the Zionists, though there are some who deny any religious motive whatever, it is quite evident that the restoration of Zion is not regarded by them merely as an historic reparation, but as the fulfillment of prophecy. A prominent Zionist said to the writer in Jerusalem that Zionism could have no justification unless the religious motive were predominant. Another Zionist stated that they desired a political order where it would be possible once again to apply the municipal ordinances of Moses. That a theocratic State is contemplated by many Jews is quite apparent. It is the very reason, in fact, why some Jews are strong Anti-Zionists.

On the other hand the most vigorous opposition to Zionism comes from the so-called "Rabbinical School" composed of those orthodox Jews who believe that Jehovah will restore Zion to His chosen people only by spiritual agencies—through the literal fulfillment of Messianic prophecy. Great pressure has been brought to bear on these objectors to overcome their scruples. Arguments were actually adduced to demonstrate that the British might properly be considered as the realization of Messianic hopes! Whatever the viewpoint of individual Zionists, it would be quite impossible to deny a strong religious character to the whole movement for the re-establishment of a "national home."

Another motive animates some Zionists, as evinced by the "Pittsburg programme," adopted recently by American Zionists, which has been said to suggest "both the communism of the ancient Hebrew theocracy and the social radicalism to which many modern Jews take kindly." This programme provides for "the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources, and of all public utilities by the whole people"; and for the application of the "co-operative principle . . . in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings."

Whatever the special motives of individual Jews for supporting Zionism, whether humanitarian, religious, economic, Socialistic, political, or otherwise, they are practically all united in one supreme, compelling motive, namely, the preservation of the solidarity of the Jewish race. Throughout the arguments and utterances of Zion-

ists one constantly finds recurring the idea that a Jewish State would serve as a rallying point, and arrest the process of assimilation of Jews in certain liberal countries. It is curious to note that while Zionists naturally are greatly concerned over the persecutions of Jews in illiberal countries, they are seriously alarmed over this danger of assimilation, this definite secession from Jewry of many members of their race. Persecution strengthens racial solidarity: tolerance undermines it.

On the other hand a considerable number of Jews seem to resent any attempt to coerce them morally into the support of a Jewish State in order to restrain them from losing their racial identity. Knowing how distrusted and hated have been those hybrid citizens owing a double allegiance, or those pacifists, or vague internationalists without a country, or—worse still—those Socialistic agitators who recognize the compulsion of no local allegiance, such Jewish anti-Zionists are naturally most alarmed over what seems to them a dangerous tendency in the Zionist movement. They are willing to help generously and sympathetically their oppressed brethren, but they are too loyal to the countries of their adoption to be willing to divide their patriotic devotion. Furthermore, they realize—many of them—how powerfully this racial compulsion, with its rigid hostility to intermarriage between Jew and Gentile, operates as a barrier to assimilation, and as a deep-seated cause of anti-Semitism. Few non-Jews seem to realize the force of this sense of racial solidarity. It is the driving force of Zionism.

As regarding the results attained by the Zionists, it is interesting—first of all—to note that in spite of Turkish opposition, the agricultural colonies established in various parts of Palestine have proved on the whole a decided success. The “Talmudic peasant” has become a reality. Wonderful orange groves, vineyards, and fields of growing crops testify to the ability of the Jew to become a farmer. He has revealed also the potentialities of Palestine through scientific methods of agriculture, irrigation, and afforestation, though it is doubtful whether the country could ever support more than two million inhabitants.

The Zionists have organized politically a number of communities, such as the one at Jaffa known as *Tel Aviv*,

which have their own administration and local ordinances, subject naturally to the sovereign jurisdiction of Great Britain. These communities are exclusive in character and tend to widen the gulf between Jews on the one side, and Moslems and Christians on the other.

The Zionists, as has been indicated, carried on formal political negotiations with the Arabs of the Hedjaz, and have tried to make provisions for the future relations of the Jewish State with its neighbors. As these negotiations were secret it is impossible to state with any certainty what precise results were attained. The mere fact that they were entered into is of significance.

There is no denying that the Zionist movement has aroused serious apprehensions and fierce prejudices among the Moslems and Christians. The Zionist Mission endeavored in vain to reassure them that no political aims were entertained, and gave every guarantee for the inviolability of their privileges and rights. The publicity and the thorough organization of the Zionist propaganda had served only to alarm Christians and Moslems alike. They united together in a mutual determination to prevent the acquisition of land by the Zionists. A storm of fury was awakened in Jerusalem by the efforts of the Jewish community to acquire property in the neighborhood of the well known "wailing place" adjoining the sacred Temple Area. Individual Jews, moreover, in their natural exultation over British recognition and promises, made the situation worse by foolish boastings as to what would happen when the Jewish State would be established.

The Grand Mufti, the Moslem judge in Jerusalem, stated to the writer that no one could have said a word in opposition if the Zionists had merely asked the privilege of settling down in Palestine under a liberal régime such as the British might institute. But he went on to state that the formidable character of the Zionist propaganda as evinced by the activities of the special Mission had awakened great fear, and stirred up prejudices long quiescent. This is undeniably and lamentably true. The Near East has long been a haven for the Jew, but Zionism has evoked a spirit of distrust and hostility greatly to be deplored. It has already caused the British authorities considerable embarrassment.

Unless the Zionists are prepared to recognize this situation and to moderate their aims and pretensions, this wave of anti-Semitism is bound to increase in strength. Their basic mistake is to assume that Palestine is primarily a Jewish problem. They would appear to ignore nearly two thousand years crowded full of history which has made of Palestine a true Holy Land for Moslems and Christians alike, as well as for the Jews. They do not seem to realize the depth of sentiment which from the time of the Empress Helena down through the Crusade and to the present day has endeared Palestine to Christendom with blood and tears. They do not appear to sense the fierce anger that surges up when it is suggested in a disguised form to give the Jews the predominant interest and control in the Holy Land. They do not realize that their very assurances of guarantees for the sanctity of the "holy places" are most offensive to Christians and Moslems. There exists an instinctive religious resentment towards the Jews which they would do well never to excite.

Such being the regrettable though quite logical situation, the only answer to the Zionists would seem to be that they should cease to speak of "historic rights"; should ask for no special privileges; but should recognize the insurmountable fact that Palestine, like ancient Elis, has become a sacred international precinct. It is a place so full of sentiment that political aspirations must be subordinated to respect for religious traditions and attachments. There must be a unity of aim between Moslems, Jews, and Christians. They must effectively safeguard and cherish the interests of all. The object in view must not be a "national home" for the Jews, but an *international* home for all who hold Palestine dear. In this age of internationalism, here, at least, is the place above all others to *internationalize*. Here is the place for the healing of the nations, for the possible realization of a unity of faith that shall draw all men together in one true brotherhood.

To revert to the problem propounded at the outset, the prominence of the Jew in modern reform movements, particularly in Socialistic and Bolshevistic attempts to overthrow the existing order of things, is not easy to explain. Granted his rare intellectual powers, his warmth of imagination, his natural radicalism, all this would not seem suffi-

cient to explain his conspicuous activity at this time. Not that he is playing consciously an ulterior or sinister role: far from it! But one is led to believe that the Jew is restless, and by nature detached from most nationalistic interests because of his sense of racial solidarity that militates against his taking deep root in any community. He feels himself truly an Ishmaelite. He does not stand in the midst of growing grain, or with his sheep on mountain slopes and say "all this is mine, these fields, these loved valleys, and rough crags." He has not actually become assimilated as a race in any country. This thing we term Christian civilization is something alien to him. He would readily welcome a new social order with enthusiasm and erect a new altar to an "unknown God." His spirit is restless; his intellect wrestles with fresh problems; his imagination leads him to pursue wonderful visions.

This may explain in large measure the prominence of so many Jews in the great social evolution now going on. And this too may explain the reason for the alarming recrudescence of the spirit of anti-Semitism in such countries as Russia and Hungary where Jews have unfortunately been conspicuous among the Bolsheviks.

And this is why the Zionists at this critical period, it seems to the writer, should do all in their power to avoid awakening the spirit of anti-Semitism where it has long been ignored and where it never should be permitted to have a foothold. This is no time to advance Jewish nationalistic or special rights: it is a time to insist on common interests, sufferings, hopes, and aspirations. With such a spirit the Jews may find in Palestine the opportunity to play their supreme role in history as the mediators among men of all races and nations.

PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN.